1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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wenumapu ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which, because of its supposed control of catamenia, is looked upon as the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[2] There is also a belief in an amorphous spirit of fertility, *choyülchefe*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *choyülchefe* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cataracts. He is also associated with bees, which return in force each season when germination reaches a peak. *Choyülchefe* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation. There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms are more likely to have offspring.

Although children are usually greatly desired, there are special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abortions. Most frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard feeling has been aroused, such a girl may resort to a *machi*. The *machi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pucha* tree,[3] and a plant called *tropa* or *trupa*,[4] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an antidote of *chillko* ("fuchsia"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *maqui;* Mapuche, Kul-on).

[2] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626. Latcham, 1909, p. 347, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[3] The Spanish term is *patagua*, which Augusta (1916, I: 172), identified as *Myrceugenia pitra* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[4] Identified by Augusta (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–37) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

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Sometimes, if a daughter has just been born, the mother may be given a strong and bitter drink made from the leaves either of the *foye* or *fol·o*.[11] The idea seems to be that the beverage is so powerful that it will strengthen the woman and enable her to bear a son next time.

In a sense the Araucanians consider that a newly born infant is on trial; that is, before devoting themselves to it wholeheartedly, they want some assurance that it is sound enough to survive. As a combination test of weakness and remedy for it the baby may be given a drink of cold water, mixed with the juice of the *refu* plant.[12] A belief prevails that this drink will either make the child stronger by cleansing its stomach and forcing it to urinate, or cause it to die; but my informant admitted that he had never heard of an infant that had actually perished from the treatment. Sometimes, too, parents perform a little rite designed to give strength to a child. Early in the morning after a night when the moon is full, they hold the baby over the fire in their own home. The father takes the feet, and the mother holds the head. Gently they stretch the infant, praying that it may grow and be strong.

A lying-in period that may extend to ten days or two weeks follows confinement. When the mother feels herself fully recovered, she takes a bath in water made fragrant with the leaves of aromatic plants. Not until a woman has thus announced her recovery are her other young offspring free to see her and the baby at close range. For immature children to approach their recently delivered mother too soon is thought to be dangerous, causing boys to be weaklings and girls to be so enfeebled that they will die in childbirth when their time comes. No set date is fixed for the resumption of marital relations. Each couple makes its own arrangements after the wife feels that she has returned to normal health and activity.[13]

[11] *Fol·o* is identified in Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 50) as *Boldoa fragrans*. Whisky or cognac is sometimes substituted nowadays for the native beverage.

[12] Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 51) failed to identify *refu*, but described it as a short shrub with yellow flowers and small round leaves.

[13] Latcham (1909, p. 360) said that cohabitation is not resumed until a child "has cut all its teeth." Cooper (1946, p. 733) mentioned abstinence

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INFANCY

453 Babies are encouraged to nurse as soon as possible. If a mother's milk fails or proves unsuited, as judged from the appearance of a child's skin, tongue, or excreta, any friendly lactating woman may be called upon for help. Sometimes, a group of helpers may work in shifts, with one nursing a child early in the morning, another in the forenoon, a third at noon, and so on. Sometimes, too, in polygynous households, comates [595] may help to suckle each other's young. "No how," exclaimed Collío in one of his interviews, "will they let a baby starve!" One Araucanian man told me that he had been suckled, at least in part, by the wife of his oldest paternal uncle; a paternal grandmother helped with the nursing of another. Such evidence confirms the importance of the household unit as a basic, functional group of kindred, for each of these wet nurses, through the agency of unilocal, patrilocal residence, was a housemate of the child she helped to suckle.

553 The concept that the first few days of an infant's life constitute a kind of trial period also finds expression in the naming customs. No discussion of a name takes place before a baby is at least a week old and has given indication that it is in good health and will probably live. The option of naming a first child customarily belongs to the paternal grandparents, but if they have many descendants they may, out of courtesy, transfer the privilege to the mother's parents. Either the grandfather or grandmother, depending on the sex of the infant, serves as godparent, holding the babe in his arms, and giving it his own name before witnesses.[14] So closely is the custom followed that the term *l·aku*, father's father, also means namesake, and 553 the naming rite is called *l·akutun*.[15] If he can afford it, a god- 431 parent gives presents to a namesake. Traditionally, the gifts

[833] for as much as a year or eighteen months. Very likely, the abandonment of polygyny has led to an earlier resumption of sexual relations.

[14] A variant account of naming practices occurs in Hoose, 1939, pp. 255 ff.

[15] *L·aku* is a reciprocal term for a man's father's father and son's son, and *chuchu* or *llalla* refers to a woman's mother's mother or daughter's daughter (Figs. 2, 3). Augusta (1916, I: 109) gave namesake as one of the meanings of *l·aku*.

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THE LIFE CYCLE. II. ADOLESCENCE TO DEATH

PREMARITAL SEX CUSTOMS[1]

WHEN a youth achieves adulthood, he is given much advice by older men. He is cautioned not to overindulge in sexual activity, but he is by no means urged to remain celibate until married. Young women, similarly, are taught not to offer themselves too freely, but they are not told to cherish virginity, except in the case of Christian families. Masturbation is said to be indulged in by boys, but, although some informants felt that the practice is increasing, all agreed that it is not widespread. Homosexuality is reported to be moderately common among young girls in the spring. According to a typical native opinion expressed during a discussion, these habits indicate that such youngsters are ready to be married. Berdaches, pederasts, and sodomists are not infrequently mentioned in the literature, particularly in conjunction with shamanism;[2] but little was said or known about these practices at present. One informant did volunteer the statement that sodomy with ewes was becoming fairly common, and he attributed its origin to the Argentine, where, he claimed, the act was performed with female llamas. On the whole sodomy is considered dangerous and likely to cause disease, but bachelors observed in the act are simply advised to get married.

A girl with a high mound of Venus is considered particularly attractive. It is conventional for men to seek out and choose as mistresses or wives such girls as they find desirable, but women are not supposed to take the initiative in selecting lovers. When a man finds an opportunity for intercourse he acts promptly. There is no anticipatory fondling or "petting" and not much time is devoted to preliminaries.[3] Consummation

[1] This section comprises material obtained from several informants, of whom the principal one was J. M. Collio.

[2] Latcham, 1924, p. 629-30.

[3] One old-time polygynist, who had observed the conventional politeness and deference of Euro-American males, expressed wonder that they ever succeeded in gaining possession of a woman.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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833 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

836 847 584 754 Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take advantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a *machi* to perform the *kuftun*.[6] *Kuftun* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the *machi*. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the *machi* dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become emasculated.

Kuftun may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

512 Mr. Donaldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

[6] Cf. Augusta, 1916, 1: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 733.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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out the texts in his own hand, using a system of transcription that consists essentially of the values given to the Spanish alphabet, with the sole addition of a German ü. Because of the metaphorical quality of the language, it was impossible to translate the texts literally, but the free translations given here were gone over word by word with Mr. Collío. The interpretations are, in all instances, based on data furnished by him, but I have supplied some additional material.

Mr. Collío unhesitatingly affirmed that the custom of singing at assemblies is still practiced throughout the Araucanian region. As a tribal leader he travels widely in central Chile, and he claims to have attended a great number of public gatherings at some of which he heard renditions of the songs given below. In Collío's home reservation, however, where I spent approximately six weeks, informants were not familiar with the texts of these songs. Apparently none of them has more than a local distribution in the vicinity in which it was composed.

Woman's Song No. 1[12]

kanin peuman
petu ñi ilchalen
ñi femguechi
niyer keael meu.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a vulture when I was a young virgin, little realizing that I was destined to submit to such a man.

Interpretation.—The singer complains that her husband is rapacious and inconsiderate. According to Collío, she is also implying that her spouse does not satisfy her sexual desires.

Man's Reply[13]

felelai papai
eimi palelai

[12] Women's songs are generally but not invariably shorter than are men's. The numbers attached to the successive texts are purely arbitrary and are used only for convenience in making references.

[13] There seems to be a tendency for singing to develop into a sort of contest, for many songs make accusations which are answered by the person concerned.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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539

inche ta eimi
deuman piuke
fente ini ayufiel
kimwe laimi piyael
fei - ula doi ayueyu
felen meu feipien
eimi ta sakin domo.

[551] Free translation.—It is not so, my dear papai (literally, "mother," but used as a courteous or affectionate term of direct address by any man speaking to a mature woman). No matter what you say, I'll never hurt your feelings. My heart beats (deuman, literally, "is self-made" or "manufactured") only for you. You don't know what you are saying, because I love you very much. You are my dearest woman.

Woman's Song No. 2

tregul peuman
kuifi meu kai
welu fele pulai
alka pülelen.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a lapwing[16] a long time ago, and now I am like a hen under the wing of a rooster.

539 833 Interpretation.—In explaining this song my informant said that it is of the type sung by a young wife to call attention to the fact that her husband is sexually overactive. On hearing such a complaint, her relatives and friends try to advise her spouse to moderate his marital behavior. Sometimes a group of elderly men will arrange to meet the husband in private, without the wife's knowledge, in order to give him the benefit of their experience. Among other things they may tell the husband not to seek sexual satisfaction daily and to abstain from intercourse for at least twelve hours after a meal.

[16] Fray Félix José de Augusta (Diccionario araucano-español [Santiago, 1916], II, 230) identifies the tregle bird as Vanellus chilensis, the Chilean lapwing. As Collío described it, however, it was somewhat reminiscent of the European cuckoo, in that he claimed it was noisy, frequented muddy places, and had no nest of its own, but laid eggs anywhere.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter.

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater opportunities for sexual activity than formerly. While the accuracy of this statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively sustained, rather than intermittent as they were several generations ago under different social conditions.

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoon and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are founts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly.

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion make lewd reference to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, 864 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court- [836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual [584] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after [592] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. [595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani- [231] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their [561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions 864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge [831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under [831] the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual desire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is [836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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ships which constitute incest. Moreover, the age of the individuals concerned is a factor in determining the seriousness of an incestuous relationship. Among young adolescents, for example, an incestuous relationship, while subject to strong censure, does not bring social ostracism. There is, then, a certain flexibility in the supposedly immutable incest barrier.

Aside from the above-mentioned restraints, young people are not closely watched by their parents. When children begin to attend reservation school, their daily contacts with peers are prolonged into late adolescence. In addition to becoming more closely acquainted with other young people from their own reservation, they meet boys and girls from surrounding reservations who might have remained virtual strangers to them otherwise. If they do not attend school, which is increasingly rare today, their association with their peer group might be disrupted at about the age of ten or eleven years, when they begin to take on adult responsibilities in and around the home. This applies more to girls than boys, since the former then become largely housebound. Their interreservational contacts are relatively few until they gain more independence from parental authority, generally not until after adolescence. This situation seems to have been traditional.

Sexual intercourse is often first experienced by boys during early adolescence, while still attending school. For most girls, however, it is said that this experience comes a few years later and usually under the guise of courtship. There are "popular" girls, though, who are known to loiter on the way home from school or at a stream while fetching water or firewood to tryst with boys. Sexual intercourse often occurs at these rendezvous, but it is considered almost wholly experimental and, barring pregnancy, free from compromise. If a boy's parents hear of his involvement in this type of affair, they are not particularly disturbed. He might be admonished as "bad" or "lazy" and told not to waste his time, but he will not be chastized. At that, he might momentarily gain the mock admiration of his older siblings. A girl will be more severely reprimanded and, thereafter, more closely watched. If she persists in sexual indulgence and becomes promiscuous, bringing disgrace on her family, the household will suffer from discord and uneasiness. She might be taken out of school and kept at home, or her parents might send her to a relative who lives some distance away. However, when she marries the matter is resolved, and husbands do not recriminate with wives over past indiscretions.

Actually, there is little promiscuity in the sense of boys and girls